

There has been steady erosion in education. Official figures show that the five bilingual elementary schools in Prekmurje had 844 pupils in 2006–2007, while the one bilingual middle school, in Lendava, had a roll of 340, and 263 children attended bilingual kindergarten.¹²⁹

Hungarian has been taught at Maribor University since 1966; there has been a Faculty of Hungarian Language and Literature there since 1980.

The Hungarian–Slovenian Minority Protection Agreement was signed in Ljubljana on November 6, 1992.¹³⁰ A Hungarian–Slovenian Minority Mixed Committee was set up on April 4, 1995, in Ljubljana to monitor its implementation. The two countries also signed a basic treaty in 1992.¹³¹

Major improvements in communications between this small Hungarian community and Hungary have occurred. A railway link opened between Murska Sobota and Zalău on May 16, 2001, and a new road frontier crossing opened at Čepinci–Kétvölgy on March 28, 2002. The two governments agreed in 2004 that all Slovenian–Hungarian frontier crossings would open to third-country traffic from the date of the two countries' EU accession (May 1, 2004). Border controls were lifted on December 21, 2007, under the Schengen Agreement.

Ukraine (*Csilla Fedinec*)

Separatist action gained many countries independence in the twentieth century. The “right to secede” was also enshrined in successive Soviet constitutions (1924, 1936 and 1977), but it only became possible in the post-Soviet sphere in the 1990s. Europe, the birthplace of the nation state and nationalism at the end of the eighteenth century, seemed likely to be its graveyard towards the end of the twentieth. The strongest signs of its return were the Soviet, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak break-ups into successor states organized on a nation-state basis,¹³² hastened by Gorbachev's calls in the mid-1980s for *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Hungary was among the first countries to recognize Ukraine's independence in 1991.¹³³

Three main documents determined the legal status of the minorities in the new country: the statement of minority rights (1991), the act on national minorities (1992) and the constitution (1996). They stated, among other things, that resident minorities form part of the Ukrainian people. Minority affiliation can be chosen freely, and there are possibilities for monolingual and bilingual signs in the minority language. Numerous places in Transcarpathia have regained their original names and many Hungarian-related statues and memorial tablets and signs have been erected. The Hungarians make up 0.3 percent of the population, almost all of them living in Transcarpathia. They had no political organization before 1989. The intellectual and ultimately political sphere made only a cultural appearance, mainly in literature and art. Change could only be sensed in the second half of the 1980s.¹³⁴

The earliest organization to form (and still the largest) was the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association, in 1989.¹³⁵ A rapid change of generation took place in it with the election of Miklós Kovács as president. This brought a sharp change of outlook that permanently polarized the Transcarpathian elite. Earlier Cultural Association supporters and several newer bodies combined in 1994 as the Forum of Transcarpathian Hungarian Organizations.¹³⁶ This takes the view that the cause of the Hungarians in Ukraine can be pursued effectively by cooperating with Ukrainian political forces. In doing so it cannot ignore the city of Uzhhorod, the capital of the *oblast*, with its main institutions and university with Hungarian faculties, from which the Hungarian elite was recruited, although the city's role in the community has declined since 1989. The Cultural Association is based in the Tisa-side districts, where it presses for Hungarian autonomy and a Hungarian educational area.

The position of the Forum was steadily taken over by the Hungarian Democratic Federation in Ukraine, founded with Sándor Fodó as president in October 1991 by the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association, Cultural Federation of Hungarians in Lviv, and the Association of Hungarians in Kiev.¹³⁷ However, at the June 1995 general assembly of the Democratic Federation in Uzhhorod,

its general secretary, Tibor Vass, said that there was nothing to report on its activity, as it had not operated. In March 1996 a new president was elected, Mihály Tóth, a member of the Ukrainian legislature. In 1997 the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association suspended its membership of the Democratic Federation, so making the split into two camps permanent.

In the intervening general elections, each organization has seen a seat in the legislature as reinforcement of its legitimacy, and this has several times resulted in rivalry between Hungarian candidates. In 1990, Fodó, then president of the Cultural Association, stood, but then suddenly stepped down and urged his supporters to vote in the Cultural Association's name for a Ukrainian candidate, Vasyl Shepa, which they did. In 1994, the organizations that had seceded from the Cultural Association chose Mihály Tóth, who managed to beat Fodó, not least because the latter's campaign relied strongly on discrediting his opponent. Four years later Tóth lost to the new Cultural Association president, Miklós Kovács. Fodó, running on the list of the Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (United),¹³⁸ was far behind. This move brought him before the ethics committee of the Cultural Association, but with no consequences. The Social Democratic Party of Ukraine (United) did not withdraw from Hungarian public life; in the 2002 elections it launched the party's Berehove chairman, István Gajdos, against Miklós Kovács, supported by the Cultural Association. The Democratic Federation lined up behind Gajdos. Kovács's chances were lessened also by the candidacy of an unknown namesake, who took some of his votes. The seat was won eventually by Gajdos, by order of the Supreme Court, after several recounts, appeals and complaints.

In the wake of the election scandals, the then governor of the *oblast*, Hennadiy Moskal, chided Hungary for giving Kovács open support, saying that it was not the first time that disputes among Ukrainian Hungarian associations had been soured by such direct intervention. The general meeting of the Cultural Association said in a statement that Gajdos's election was due to crude abuses and destruction of voting papers, with the result that the result did not

reflect the will of the voters. Kovács had received a clear majority in the communities where Hungarians were a clear majority of the population, meaning that the Cultural Association's legitimacy was unquestionable. Kovács's complaint was taken up by the European Court of Human Rights.

Legitimacy was at the heart of the debate. The Cultural Association's main charge against the Democratic Federation was that it did not take part and its chosen member of the legislature represented a Ukrainian party that was in power. Taking the voting papers at face value, Kovács was "self-nominated" and Gajdos was the candidate of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (United), as civil associations could not stand. Gajdos did his political reputation further harm in 2004 by crossing the floor to the Socialist Party of Ukraine faction, after the balance of power was changed by the presidential elections.

The situation changed radically in the 2006 general elections, with the formation of the first Hungarian parties: the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association–Hungarian Party in Ukraine chaired by Kovács and the Hungarian Democratic Party in Ukraine chaired by Gajdos.¹³⁹ Neither had a realistic chance of reaching the 3 percent threshold for seats in the legislature. The real stake was local government representation. During the elections, the Hungarian parties attracted attention from Ukrainian political forces, which meant that they could put up joint lists. The appearance of the Hungarian parties gave a boost to support for other minorities to form parties. In the early 2007 elections, the candidate of each Hungarian party found a place on a large party's list, but neither gained a seat in the legislature.

The autonomy question arose in a context specific to Transcarpathia, for the Rusyns, not recognized by the authorities as a minority, also made autonomy claims in the early 1990s, with some practical steps being taken between the declaration of Ukraine's independence on August 24, 1991, and the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States on December 8. The autonomy demand by the Society of Subcarpathian Rusyns was

supported by the Berehove branch of the Transcarpathian Hungarian Cultural Association, which soon afterward proposed a referendum on setting up a Hungarian autonomous area. This was supported by the local authorities and a referendum announced for December 1. While 90 percent of the country's voters came out in favor of independence for the republic, 78 percent of votes in Transcarpathia were cast in favor of special status for the region, and 81.4 percent in the Berehove *raion* supported founding a Hungarian autonomous area. However, the referendum had no legal consequences. Signs of a split in the Cultural Association were apparent in 1992, with the handling of this being one of the points at issue. The Hungarian–Ukrainian basic treaty of 1992 made no mention of the matter. The council of the Transcarpathian *oblast* almost immediately rejected the local Hungarian draft for establishing the Berehove Hungarian Autonomous Area. Hungarian cultural autonomy remained on the agenda of the Ukrainian–Hungarian Mixed Committee and was raised at the April 1993 meeting in Uzhhorod of President Leonid Kravchuk and Prime Minister József Antall. In May the Mukacheve conference of the Society of Subcarpathian Rusyns formed a shadow government of *Podkarpatska Rus* (the official name of Transcarpathia in the Czechoslovak period), announcing the move in Bratislava and causing tensions between Ukraine and Slovakia. These scandals marked the end of Rusyn organization. Kuchma, seeking re-election in 1999, campaigned in Transcarpathia, assuring the Hungarians that he would support their autonomy if elected. After the presidential election, legislation was passed establishing a free economic zone in Transcarpathia, but there was silence over cultural autonomy, and creation of a separate Hungarian school network came to seem a more realistic goal.

An important role in the civil sphere was played by the 1993 Transcarpathian Community of Hungarian Intellectuals, chaired by György Dupka, one merit of which was to begin a series of events in 1996 called the Transcarpathian Hungarian Local Government Forum. In 2001, the Local Government Association of Border Communities was founded.¹⁴⁰ Various professions now have

associations (Hungarian teachers, librarians, artists, physicians, peasants, business people, and so on).

There have been essential changes in culture and education.¹⁴¹ In the early 1990s, Hungarian infants' schools opened and scope for Hungarian-taught education improved. Denominational schools appeared alongside the state institutions, and several secondary schools started Hungarian groups. The state-accredited Ferenc Rákóczi II Transcarpathian Hungarian Institute opened, mainly with funds from Hungary. In 2005, Uzhhorod National University opened a Hungarian History and European Integration Faculty. Scientific workshops appeared: the Tivadar Lehoczky and Antal Hodinka institutes in Berehove, and the Center for Hungarian Studies in Uzhhorod. Since 1994, there has been a Gyula Illyés Hungarian National Theater, and since 1990 the Imre Révész Society of Transcarpathian Hungarian Painters and Applied Artists. The press proliferated (*Kárpáti Igaz Szó*, *Kárpátaljai Szemle*, *Ukrajnai Magyar Krónika*, and so on), but it was still not possible to buy or subscribe to papers from Hungary, largely for economic reasons, and state book publishing in Hungarian ceased for want of funds. Instead, private publishers have been winning competitive funding from Hungary to produce Transcarpathian works. The main book publishers include Galéria in Uzhhorod (Károly D. Balla) and Mandátum in Berehove (János Penckófer). Intermix Kiadó of Uzhhorod and Budapest, the largest book publisher by number of titles, was founded in 1992 with György Dupka as manager. Its Transcarpathian Hungarian Books series includes poetry, prose, sociology, local history, ethnography, documentary publications, and so on. Institutions have also taken to publishing books, and local Internet portals have appeared.¹⁴²

The Churches play important charitable, educational and cultural roles. They are present increasingly in welfare services. They were the first to open Sunday schools for those in areas of scattered Hungarian habitation. The biggest problem in Transcarpathia and throughout Ukraine has been the critical economic situation.¹⁴³ The large-scale structure of farming practically disappeared in the 1990s and almost all industrial production ceased, with the result that unemployment

rose to around 20 percent. Personal savings accumulated in the Soviet period were frozen indefinitely. The region was devastated in 1998 and 2001 by flooding of the River Tisa. Many had little option but to make a living out of illegal cross-border trading or by working temporarily in Hungary or Slovakia. Only a small proportion of the joint ventures started have been in the production sectors. The situation changed at the beginning of the twenty-first century only insofar as local businesses found it harder to recruit labor. Those who have prospered out of illicit trading are unwilling to abandon it, although it has detrimental effects on society. The legislation on the Transcarpathian free trade area of more than 700 hectares and investment concessions covering the whole of Transcarpathia were intended by the government as measures to stimulate the economy.

Economically motivated emigration, a national problem, increased vastly in the 1990s. The country's population fell from 52.1 million to under 49 million between 1989 and 2001, with migration accounting for no small proportion of the decrease. In 1991–1993, the migration balance was still positive and the population rose by almost half a million, but then the decline set in, with a net 620,000 inhabitants lost to emigration in subsequent years, most of them qualified or skilled. The three main target countries are Israel, Germany and the United States. Mass emigration from Transcarpathia began in the 1980s, with the targets being the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Israel, Germany and the United States, but with Hungary taking by far the most. Almost 85 percent of ethnic Hungarians migrating from Transcarpathia – 30,000 people – have chosen Hungary as their destination. They also apply for citizenship, although dual citizenship is not recognized by the Ukrainian constitution. Large numbers study at colleges and universities in Hungary, and many still at school do not return either. All this is changing the social structure of the Hungarian community. According to the 2001 census, 151,500 of Transcarpathia's 1,254,600 inhabitants were ethnic Hungarians (12.1 percent).¹⁴⁴ The proportion of Hungarians classing Hungarian as their native language hardly changed between the 1989 and 2001 censuses, one reason being that a higher proportion of the Hungarian-speaking Gypsy community declared themselves ethnic Hungarians in 2001.

Notes

- 1 Peter Pelinka, "Minderheiten im politischen System Österreichs," in Rainer Bauböck, Gerhard Baumgartner, Bernhard Perchinig and Karin Pinter, eds., "...und raus bist Du!" *Minderheiten in der Politik* (Vienna, 1988), pp. 23–28; Gerhard Baumgartner, "Volksgruppenpolitik in Österreich 1945–1999" [Minority Policy and Politics in Austria 1945–1999], in Peter H. Nelde and Roswitha Rindler-Schjerve, eds., *Minorities and Language Policy / Minderheiten und Sprachpolitik / Minorité et l'aménagement linguistique* (Sankt Augustin, 2001), pp. 183–192.
- 2 Gerhard Baumgartner, "Minderheitenpolitik im Burgenland. Politik burgenländischer Minderheiten 1945–2000," in Roland Widder, ed., *Geschichte des Burgenlandes in der Zweiten Republik* (Salzburg, 1999), pp. 15–54.
- 3 *Burgenländisches Minderheitenschulgesetz 1994*. BGBl. 202/1994; HKDC Kroatisches Kultur und Dokumentationszentrum, ed., *Vorteil Vielfalt. 10 Jahre Minderheitenschulgesetz für das Burgenland* (Eisenstadt, 2004).
- 4 Dieter Kolonovits, *Sprache in Österreich* (Vienna, 2000); Heinz Tichy, "Die rechtlichen Voraussetzungen für die Erteilung des Unterrichts in den Volksgruppensprachen," in Wiener Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Volksgruppenfragen – Volksgruppeninstitut, ed., *Unterricht und Bildung in den Volksgruppensprachen* (Vienna, 1987), pp. 11–57; Burgenländische Forschungsgesellschaft, ed., *Zweisprachigkeit als Chance. Ungarischunterricht im Burgenland* (Eisenstadt, 1995); Andrea Kaiser, *Zweisprachige Volksschulen im Burgenland*, Doctoral dissertation (Klagenfurt, 1995).
- 5 KUGA – Kulturna Zadruga, ed., *Manjine i medije – med izolaciom, integraciom i šutnjom. Odredjivane položaja / Minderheiten und Medien – zwischen Isolation, Integration und Funkstille. Eine Standortbestimmung* (Großwarasdorf, 1993).
- 6 Werner Holzer and Ulrike Pröll, eds., *Mit Sprachen leben. Praxis der Mehrsprachigkeit* (Klagenfurt, 1994).
- 7 Gerhard Baumgartner, "Ausztia magyar nyelvű lakossága a 2001-es osztrák népszámlálás tükrében" [Austria's Hungarian-Speaking Population as Seen in the 2001 Census], in László Gyurgyik and László Sebők, eds., *Népszámlálási körkép Közép-Európából 1989–2002* [Censuses in Central Europe 1989–2002] (Budapest, 2003), pp. 158–170.

- 8 Statistik Austria, *Volkszählungen im Burgenland 1981-2001. Umgangssprache Burgenland – Gemeinden und Ortschaften* (Vienna, 2002); *Statistisches Handbuch der Stadt Wien 1992* (Vienna, 1992).
- 9 Pál Deréky, “Magyarok Ausztriában és Nyugat-Németországban” [Hungarians in Austria and West Germany], *Integratio* 16 (1984).
- 10 Éva Kovács and Attila Melegh, “‘Lehetett volna rosszabb is, mehetünk volna Amerikába is’. Vándorlástörténetek Erdély, Magyarország és Ausztria háromszögében” [“It Could Have Been Worse, We Might Have Gone to America.” Migration Stories from Transylvania–Hungary–Austria], in Endre Sik and Judit Tóth, eds., *Diskurzusok a vándorlásról* [Discourses on Migration], Yearbook of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences’ Institute of Political Sciences (Budapest, 2000), pp. 93–152.
- 11 Károly Cserján, “Magyar identitás Ausztriában” [Hungarian Identity in Austria], in Nóra Kóvács, ed., *Tanulmányok a diaszpóráról* [Diaspora Studies] (Budapest, 2004), pp. 41–49; Szilvia Szoták, “Az identitás ‘morzsái’. Örvidéki civil szervezetek a magyar nyelv és kultúra fennmaradásáért” [Crumbs of Identity. Civil Associations for Preserving Hungarian Language and Culture in the Wart], in Boglárka Bakó and Szilvia Szoták, eds., *Magyarlakta kistérségek és kisebbségi identitások a Kárpát-medencében* [Hungarian-Inhabited Districts and Minority Identities in the Carpathian Basin] (Budapest, 2006), pp. 209–224.
- 12 Statistik Austria, *Volkszählungen im Burgenland 1981–2001*; Adelheid Bauer, “Volkszählung 2001. Umgangssprache im Burgenland,” *Statistische Nachrichten* (2002) 9: 636–641.
- 13 Károly Kocsis and András Bognár, *Ethnical Map of Pannonian Territory of Croatia* (Budapest, 2003).
- 14 Here local Serbs founded a second quasi-state on June 25, 1991, the Serbian Autonomous Territory of Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem (*Srpska autonomna oblast Slavonija, Baranja i Zapadni Srem*). This joined the Republic of Serbian Krajina on December 24, 1991.
- 15 For more detail, see Ferenc Mák, “Magyarok Horvátországban” [Hungarians in Croatia], *Magyar Kisebbség* (1997) 3–4: 258–278.
- 16 Mirjana Lipovščak, ed., *Stanovništvo prema državljanstvu, narodnosti, materinskom jeziku i vjeri. Popis stanovništva, kućanstva i stanova 31. ožujka 2001. Knj. 2* [The Population According to Citizenship, Nationality, Language and Religious Affiliation, March 31, 2001. Vol. 2] (Zagreb, 2002); *Naselja i stanovništvo Republike*

- Hrvatske 1857–2001* [The Settlements and Population of the Republic of Croatia 1857–2001] (Zagreb, 2005), CD-ROM.
- 17 On the Croatian model of minority protection: Siniša Tatalović, “Model of the Realization of Ethnic Rights of National Minorities in the Republic of Croatia,” *Politička misao* (1997) 5: 27–41.
 - 18 “Ustav Republike Hrvatske” [The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia], *Narodne novine* (1990) 56.
 - 19 “Zakon o uporabi jezika i pisma nacionalnih manjina u Republici Hrvatskoj” [Law on the Usage of the National Minorities’ Language and Writing in the Republic of Croatia], and “Zakon o odgoju i obrazovanju na jeziku i pismu nacionalnih manjina” [Law on the Teaching of and Education in the Mother Tongue of the National Minorities], *Narodne novine* (2000) 51.
 - 20 The constitutional amendment: “Promjena Ustava Republike Hrvatske” [The Change of the Croatian Constitution], *Narodne novine* (2000) 113; the minority electoral act: “Zakon o izborima zastupnika u Hrvatski državni sabor” [Law on Election of Members of the Croatian Parliament], *Narodne novine* (1999) 116; the act on electoral constituencies: “Zakon o izbornim jedinicama za izbor zastupnika u zastupnički dom Hrvatskoga državnog sabora” [Law on the Constituencies for the Election of Representatives in the House of Representatives of the Croatian National Parliament], *ibid.*; the act on electoral rolls: “Zakon o popisima birača” [Law on Voters], *Narodne novine* (2007) 116; the constitutional act on the rights of national minorities: “Ustavni zakon o pravima nacionalnih zajednica” [Constitutional Law on the National Board], *Narodne novine* (2002) 155; the act on the bylaws of local government bodies deciding the ethnic proportions of representative assemblies: “Zakon o izboru članova predstavničkih tijela jedinica lokalne i područne (regionalne) samouprave” [Law on Election of Members of Representative Bodies of Local and Regional Governments], *Narodne novine* (2001) 33.
 - 21 Nemzeti Kisebbségügyi Hivatal [Office for National Minorities], *Izješće o provođenju Ustavnog zakona o pravima nacionalnih manjina i utrošku sredstava osiguranih u državnom proračunu Republike Hrvatske za 2007. godinu za potrebe nacionalnih manjina* [Report on the Implementation of the Constitutional Law on National Minorities and the Expenditure of Funds Allocated from the State Budget of Croatia in 2007 for the Needs of National Minorities] (Zagreb, 2008), pp. 223–224.

- 22 The Croatian Hungarian Cultural and Educational Federation (*Horvátországi Magyar Kultúr- és Közoktatási Szövetség*) was formed in Osijek on November 29, 1949. *Horvátországi Magyarok Szövetsége. Évkönyv 1* [Yearbook of the Croatian Hungarian Federation 1] (Eszék, 1979), p. 67.
- 23 *Horvátországi Magyar Néppárt.*
- 24 *Horvátországi Magyarok Demokratikus Közössége.*
- 25 *Magyar Egyesületek Szövetsége.*
- 26 *Horvátországi Magyar Pedagógus Szövetség.*
- 27 *Horvátországi Magyar Tudományos és Művészeti Társaság.*
- 28 Implemented by Act XVI/1997. *Magyar Közlöny* (1997) 28.
- 29 The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (*Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség*) won 186 of the 3,137 posts of mayor in local elections in June 2004, and 111 (5.9 percent) county council seats. Of the Hungarian-inhabited counties, it has a majority on the councils of Harghita, Covasna and Satu Mare, but no representatives on those of Hunedoara, Alba and Timiș, or Timișoara city. Several localities with a Romanian majority elected a Democratic Alliance mayor: Jimbolia, Satu Mare, Reghin and Marghita.
- 30 *Romániai Magyar Demokrata Szövetség* – sometimes translated as Democratic Union. For a comprehensive analysis, see Miklós Bakk, *The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania* (Budapest, 1998). For a chronology, see Frigyes Udvardy, “A romániai magyar kisebbség kronológiája 1990–2003” [Chronology of Romania’s Hungarian Minority 1990–2003], at <http://udvardy.adatbank.transindex.ro/>. Accessed April 13, 2010. The statutes appear in Nándor Bárdi and György Éger, eds., *Útkeresés és integráció. Határon túli magyar érdekvédelmi szervezetek dokumentumai* [Search and Integration. Documents of Hungarian Interest-Representing Organizations Abroad] (Budapest, 2000), pp. 45–200. Some of the best analyses appear in János Márton and István Gergő Székely, eds., *Elemzések az RMDSZ-ről* [Analyses of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania], at <http://www.adatbank.transindex.ro/belso.php?alk=33&k=5>. Accessed April 13, 2010.
- 31 *Frontul Salvării Naționale.*
- 32 *Magyar Ifjúsági Szervezetek Szövetsége.*
- 33 Two memoirs: Géza Domokos, *Esély II. Visszaemlékezések 1989–1992* [Chance II. Memoirs 1989–1992] (Miercurea-Ciuc, 1997); Géza Szőcs and Farkas Wellmann Endre, eds., *Amikor fordul az ezred* [When the Millennium Turns] (Budapest, 2009).

- 34 *Demokratikus Konvenció / Convenția Democrată.*
- 35 *Frontul Democrat al Salvării Naționale.*
- 36 An account from the “radical” side: Zsolt Borbély and Krisztina Szentimrei, *Erdélyi magyar politikatörténet 1989–2003* [Transylvanian Hungarian Political History 1989–2003] (Budapest, 2003).
- 37 *Reform Tömörülés; Székelyföldi Politikai Csoport; Szabadelvű Kör; Szociáldemokrata-Újbaloldali Tömörülés.*
- 38 *Romániai Magyar Kereszténydemokrata Párt; Romániai Magyar Dolgozók Egyesülete; Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület; Erdélyi Közművelődési Egyesület; Romániai Magyar Gazdák Egyesülete; Romániai Magyar Pedagógusok Szövetsége.*
- 39 *Szövetségi Képviselők Tanácsa; Ügyvezető Elnökség.* On internal pluralism and the self-governing model: Miklós Bakk, “Az RMDSZ első öt éve” [The First Five Years of the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania], in Miklós Bakk, István Székely and Tibor T. Toró, eds., *Útközben. Pillanatképek az erdélyi magyar politika reformjáról* [On the Way. Snapshots of the Reform of Transylvanian Hungarian Politics] (Csíkszereda, 1999), pp. 95–103; Tamás Sándor, “Egy nemzetiségi társadalom belső normatív rendszere” [Internal Normative System of a Minority Society], Ms., 1996, OSZK Kézirattára (ex Teleki Alapítvány document 1709/97).
- 40 Key debate documents: László Tőkés, “A Hatalom uszályában” [In the Barge of Power], *Romániai Magyar Szó*, August 7, 1993; György Frunda and László Borbély, “Lármafák égetése” [Lighting Alarm Signals], *ibid.*, August 25, 1993; Federal Council of Representatives position on the Neptun affair: *Bihari Napló*, September 28, 1993; campaign against Tőkés by Benedek Nagy, Democratic Alliance representative: *Romániai Magyar Szó*, January 17, 1995, and *Erdélyi Napló*, January 18, 1995.
- 41 On the people’s party model: Miklós Bakk, “Modellviták – rejtett stratégiák” [Debates on Models – Concealed Strategies], in Miklós Bakk, *Lassú valóság* [Slow Truth] (Kézdivásárhely, 2002), pp. 199–205. On the operation of the Operative Council: János Márton, “Válságtáb vagy legfőbb döntéshozó testület? A Szövetségi Operatív Tanács működése 1993–2005 között” [Crisis Team or Top Decision-Making Body? The Operation of the Operative Council in 1993–2005], in Barna Bodó, ed., *Romániai magyar politikai évkönyv* [Romanian Hungarian Political Yearbook] (Temesvár/Kolozsvár, 2005), pp. 16–37.

- 42 *Convenția Democrată; Uniunea Social Democrată.*
- 43 *Mérlegen: Az RMDSZ a koalícióban, 1996–2000* [In the Balance: the Democratic Alliance in the Coalition, 1996–2000] (Kolozsvár, n.d.); Nándor Bárdi and Zoltán Kántor, “The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania in the Government of Romania from 1996 to 2000,” *Regio 13* (2002) 5: 188–226.
- 44 *Partidul Social Democrat; Partidul Democrației Sociale.*
- 45 Designed by György Zala and completed in 1890, it marks the execution of 13 Hungarian army officers by the Habsburgs after the 1848–1849 Hungarian War of Independence. The work suffered from vandalism after the Romanian accession and was dismantled in 1925 by government order. Despite protests from some Romanian groups, it was restored in its original position on April 25, 2004.
- 46 Political program compared with practical politics: János Márton, “A romániai magyar társadalom sajátos kérdései az RMDSZ 1996–2002 közötti programjaiban és politikájában” [Specific Issues of Romanian Hungarian Society in the Programs and Policies of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, 1996–2002], *Magyar Kisebbség* (2003) 4: 295–359 and (2004) 1–2: 529–572.
- 47 *Erdélyi Magyar Nemzeti Tanács; Székely Nemzeti Tanács.*
- 48 All Hungarian autonomy plans and the main analyses appear in Zoltán Bognár, ed., *Romániai autonómia-elképzelések 1989 után* [Ideas for Autonomy in Romania since 1989], at <http://www.adatbank.transindex.ro/belso.php?alk=48&k=5>. Accessed April 13, 2010.
- 49 A comprehensive picture of the institutional framework of Romania’s minority policy: Levente Salat, ed., *Politici de integrare a minorităților naționale din România. Aspecte legale și instituționale într-o perspectivă comparată* [Integration Policies Regarding National Minorities in Romania. Legal and Institutional Aspects in a Comparative Perspective] (Cluj-Napoca, 2008).
- 50 Tom Gallagher, *Romania after Ceaușescu: the Politics of Intolerance* (Edinburgh, 1995); Christoffer Andersen, *Resurgent Romania Nationalism. In the Wake of the Interethnic Clashes in Tirgu Mures March 1990*, at http://www.edrc.ro/docs/docs/Andersen_senior_thesis.pdf. September 1995. Accessed April 14, 2010. Human Rights Watch report: <http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/1990/WR90/HELSINKI.BOU-02.htm>. Accessed April 14, 2010.

- 51 The US Project on Ethnic Relations arranged a meeting at Neptun on the Romanian coast on July 15–17, 1993, between three unmandated Democratic Alliance legislators (László Borbély, György Frunda and György Tokay), and Viorel Hrebenciuc, government secretary-general and head of the National Minority Council. The latter agreed to reserve 300 places at Babes-Bolyai University for those seeking to study in Hungarian, to rescind the order for primary schools to teach history and geography in Romanian, and to extend to minorities the order that a Romanian-taught class had to be opened wherever there were ten Romanian applicants. The purpose was to publicize and legitimize Romanian minority policy in the West in advance of accession to the Council of Europe. For the 1993 contribution by Tőkés and the other key debate documents, see Note 36.
- 52 For debate documents on the basic treaty, see *Magyar Kisebbség* (1996) 4: 59–108.
- 53 A summary of Romanian Hungarian ideas on higher education: Nándor Bárdi, Anna Berki and Szilárd Ulicsák, eds., *Az Erdélyi Magyar Tudományegyetem megvalósíthatósági tanulmánya* [Feasibility Study for the Transylvanian Hungarian University of Sciences] (Budapest, 2001), pp. 11–27. Documents of the debate around the Hungarian private university appear in *Magyar Kisebbség* (2000) 2: 161–171; the first few years' experiences: *Magyar Kisebbség* (2006) 1–2: 7–150.
- 54 Attila Varga, “A román Alkotmány módosításának időszerűsége” [The Urgency of Amending the Romanian Constitution], *Magyar Kisebbség* (2002) 2: 3–16.
- 55 Balázs Orbán and János Márton, “Elemzés a 2005-ös kisebbségi törvénytervezetről” [Analysis of the 2005 Minority Bill], in Bodó, ed., *Romániai magyar politikai évkönyv, 2005*, pp. 155–198.
- 56 The Minority Council was set up alongside the government in 1993, followed in 1997 by the Council of National Minorities (*Consiliul Minorităților Naționale*) as a consultative body. It included the 19 minority organizations also represented in the legislature. Its main task was to distribute funding from a separate budgetary fund for minorities. The fund was raised when the Alliance joined the government in 1996. Hungarians have been represented on the Council since 2001 by the Communitas Foundation founded in 1998, not the Alliance. The allocation in 2007, made partly by competitive bidding, was 10,770 million lei (ca. HUF 810,000 million).

- 57 Ildikó Fülöp Fischer and Éva Cs. Gyimesi, "A tanügyi törvény nemzeti kisebbségeket érintő szakaszainak elemzése és következményei" [An Analysis of the Articles of the Education Act Concerning National Minorities and Their Consequences], in Bárdi and Éger, eds., *Útkeresés és integráció*, Document 35.
- 58 It is questionable to what extent there is a distinct minority economy. Ideas on this are documented in Ákos Birtalan, "Gondolatok az önálló gazdasági életéről kisebbségi létfeltételek közepette" [Ideas on Distinct Economic Activity under Conditions for Minority Existence], *Magyar Kisebbség* (1999) 2–3, and the next, themed economic issue (1999) 4. Since 2000, the economic question has arisen in a development policy context: *Magyar Kisebbség* (2003) 1, (2003) 2–3, and (2005) 3–4. Broad accounts: Tamás Réti, *Közeledő régiók a Kárpát-medencében. Dél-Szlovákia, Erdély és a Vajdaság gazdasági átalakulása* [Converging Regions in the Carpathian Basin: the Economic Transformation of Southern Slovakia, Transylvania and Vojvodina] (Budapest, 2004); Gyula Horváth, ed., *Székelyföld* [The Székely Land] (Budapest/Pécs, 2003); Gyula Horváth, ed., *Északnyugat-Erdély* [Northwest Transylvania] (Budapest/Pécs, 2006); Gyula Horváth, ed., *Dél-Erdély és a Bánság* [Southern Transylvania and the Banat] (Budapest/Pécs, 2009).
- 59 Károly András, "Tények és problémák a magyar kisebbségek egyházi életében" [Facts and Problems in the Religious Life of Hungarian Minorities] *Regio* 2 (1991) 3: 13–37; Zoltán Bihari, ed., *Magyarok a világban. Kárpát-medence* [Hungarians in the World. The Carpathian Basin] (Budapest, 2000), pp. 417–431.
- 60 According to a survey by the Institute for Ethnic and National Minority Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the system's cultural institutions in 2004 consisted of two archives, 47 museums and local displays, 32 other collections, 29 book publishers, 140 periodicals, 28 radio and TV stations, five Internet portals, 51 theater, opera, puppet, mime and other acting companies, 182 musical ensembles, 104 dance groups, 21 literary clubs, 30 fine, applied, photographic and ethnographical studios, three film studios, 82 institutions disseminating knowledge of the country, and 733 education institutions with several functions. The results are analyzed in Zsombor Csata, Dénes Kiss and Tamás Kiss, "Az erdélyi magyar kulturális intézményrendszeréről" [The Transylvanian Hungarian System of Cultural Institutions], in Kinga Mandel, Éva Blénesi

- and László Szarka, eds., *A kultúra világa. A határon túli magyar kulturális intézményrendszer* [The World of Culture. The System of Hungarian Cultural Institutions beyond the Borders] (Budapest, 2005), pp. 50–75.
- 61 *Erdélyi Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület; Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület; Erdélyi Magyar Tudományegyetem Kutatási Programok Intézete; Erdélyi Magyar Műszaki Tudományos Társaság; Kolozsvári Magyar Egyetemi Intézet*. See Dénes Kiss, “A romániai magyar kulturális intézményrendszer adatbázisa” [Database of the Romanian Hungarian Cultural Institution System], at <http://kulturalis.adatbank.transindex.ro/>; websites of some major institutions: www.eme.ro; www.emke.ro; www.kjnt.ro. All accessed April 14, 2010.
 - 62 *Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság; Max Weber Kollégium; Entz Géza Alapítvány*.
 - 63 Székely Museum, Sfântu Gheorghe: www.szekelynemzetimuzeum.ro; Csík Székely Museum: www.csszm.ro. Both accessed April 14, 2010.
 - 64 General accounts: József Somai, “Romániai magyar civil szféra” [The Romanian Hungarian Civil Sphere], in Bodó, ed., *Romániai magyar politikai évkönyv, 2001*, pp. 81–96; Gyula Dávid, “A romániai magyar könyvkiadás az új évezred határán” [Romanian Hungarian Book Publishing around the New Millennium], in Bodó, ed., *Romániai magyar politikai évkönyv, 2001*; Ottó A. Bodó, “Erdélyi magyar színháztársaság” [Transylvanian Hungarian Theater], in Bodó, ed., *Romániai magyar politikai évkönyv, 2003*, pp. 204–208.
 - 65 *Popis '91. Stanovništvo. Knjiga 3. Nacionalna pripadnost – detaljna klasifikacija* [Census '91. Population. Vol. 3. National Identity – A Detailed Classification] (Belgrade, 1993).
 - 66 The 1974 constitution gave republics and provinces powers of veto over political decision-making. “Ustav Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije” [The Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], *Službeni list SFRJ* (1974) 9. Right after Tito's death, the members of the collective presidency of state were delegated by the federal units. “Amendment IV. na Ustav Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije” [Amendment IV of the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], *Službeni list SFRJ* (1981) 38.
 - 67 Debate on this punctuated Yugoslavia's history. The strongest statement in the pre-collapse period: Kosta Mihailović and Vasilije

Krestić, *Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Answers to Criticisms. Published on the Decision of the Presidency... April 23, 1993* (Belgrade, 1995), pp. 117–119.

- 68 Some 100,000 people arrived in Vojvodina after World War I, 250,000 after World War II. The details are in three works by Nikola Gačeša: *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Bačkoj 1918–1941* [Agrarian Reform and Colonization in Bačka 1918–1941] (Novi Sad, 1968); *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Banatu 1919–1941* [Agrarian Reform and Colonization in the Banat 1919–1941] (Novi Sad, 1972); *Agrarna reforma i kolonizacija u Jugoslaviji 1945–1948* [Agrarian Reform and Colonization in Yugoslavia 1945–1948] (Novi Sad, 1984).
- 69 See Popis '91.
- 70 For documents on the constitutional development of Vojvodina, see *Autonomija Vojvodine. Izabrani spisi* [The Autonomy of Vojvodina. Selected Papers] (Novi Sad, 1976). For pro-autonomy party views on the national minority question after the autonomy of Vojvodina had been ended, see *Autonomija Vojvodine danas. Rasprava na okruglom stolu održanom, 9. I. 1993. u Novom Sadu* [The Autonomy of Vojvodina Today. The Round-Table Discussion Held on January 9, 1993, in Novi Sad] (Novi Sad, 1993).
- 71 On communist party views on Vojvodina, see *Aktuelna pitanja razvoja međunacionalnih odnosa u SAP Vojvodini* [Current Issues of the Development of Interethnic Relations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina] (Novi Sad, 1970). For example, see the documents of the 1983 political demolition of the *Új Symposion* staff: Béla Csorba and János Vékás, *A kultúrtanti visszavág. A Symposion-mozgalom krónikája 1954–1993* [Auntie Culture Strikes Back. Chronicle of the *Symposion* Movement, 1954–1993] (Újvidék, 1994).
- 72 On the reprisals: Márton Matuska, *A megtorlás napjai* [Days of Reprisal] (Novi Sad, 1991) = *Retaliation* (Budapest, 1995); Sándor Mészáros, *Holttá nyilvánítva* [Pronounced Dead] (Budapest, 1995 [1991]); István Ternovác, “Pusztulj, kulák! Parasztsanyargatás a Vajdaságban” [Perish, Kulak! Oppression of the Peasantry in Vojvodina] (Budapest, 1996).
- 73 The most conspicuous advocate of this was Imre Bori, who began in the early 1960s to argue that the specific socio-economic situation had “led to the development of a separate, autonomous spirit among

- the Yugoslavian Hungarians.” Imre Bori, “A jugoszláviai magyar kultúra ma” [Yugoslavian Hungarian Culture Today], *Új Symposion* (1969) 50: 17–20. See also Nándor Major, “Elágazó utak” [Diverging Roads], *Híd* (1969) 4: 433–436.
- 74 The Serbian leadership used Kosovo Serbs to mount mass demonstrations in July 1988 in several Vojvodina communities. Speakers argued that Vojvodina’s autonomy prevented Belgrade from defending the rights of Kosovo Serbs there. Pressure from the Novi Sad demonstration led to the resignation on October 6, 1988, of the Vojvodina leaders, who opposed changing the constitutional position. For details: Sava Kerčov, Jovo Radoš and Aleksandar Raič, *Mitinzí u Vojvodini 1988. Godine rađanja političkog pluralizma* [Rallies in Vojvodina 1988. The Years of the Birth of Political Pluralism] (Novi Sad, 1990).
 - 75 *Vajdasági Magyarok Demokratikus Közösségét (VMDK)*. Its four published yearbooks include seminal documents and a detailed chronology: Zoltán Kalapis, Péter Sinkovits and János Vékás, eds., *Magyarok Jugoszláviában ’90. A Vajdasági Magyarok Demokratikus Közösségének évkönyve 1990* [Hungarians in Yugoslavia ’90. VMDK Yearbook 1990] (Novi Sad, 1991); Éva Hódi, Sándor Hódi and János Vékás, eds., “Sokáig éltünk némaságban.” *A Vajdasági Magyarok Demokratikus Közösségének évkönyve 1991* [“We Lived for a Long Time in Silence.” VMDK Yearbook 1991] (Ada, 1992); Éva Hódi and Sándor Hódi, eds., *Esély a megmaradásra. A VMDK évkönyve 1992* [Chance of Survival. VMDK Yearbook 1992] (Ada, 1992); Éva Hódi and Sándor Hódi, eds., *A balkáni pokolban. A VMDK évkönyve 1993* [Balkan Inferno. VMDK Yearbook 1993] (Ada, 1992).
 - 76 Presidency of the VMDK: “Kérelem a JNH kötelékeibe besorolt magyarok ideiglenes leszereléséről” [Petition on the Temporary Demobilization of Hungarians Serving in the Yugoslav National Army], in Hódi, Hódi and Vékás, eds., *A balkáni pokolban*, pp. 255–256.
 - 77 On refugee numbers, see the Serbian government memo to the Serbian House of Representatives, No. 05 9–283/92–253, May 21, 1992, citing Federal National Defense Secretariat data. On dismissals, this was stated: “In Temerin, for instance, 58 were dismissed between September and December 1991, all Hungarians.” See Magdolna Nagy, “Otthon és munkahely nélkül” [No Home, No Job], *Magyar Szó*, January 12, 1992.

- 78 Zakon o službenoj upotrebi jezika i pisama. *Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije* br. 45, July 27, 1991; Zakon o osnovnoj školi. *Službeni...* br. 50, July 25, 1992; Zakon o teritorijalnoj organizaciji Republike Srbije i lokalnoj samoupravi. *Službeni...* br. 47, August 3, 1991; Zakon o nasleđivanju. *Službeni...* br. 46, 1995. The passage was set aside by Serbia's Constitutional Court in 2003.
- 79 Council of the VMDK: "Önkormányzatot! Kezdeményezés a személyi elven alapuló kisebbségi önkormányzat létrehozatalára" [Local Government! Initiative for the Establishment of Minority Local Government on a Personal Basis], *VMDK Hírmondó*, November 23, 1990, p. 8. Reprinted in Bárdi and Éger, eds., *Útkeresés és integráció*, pp. 358–359.
- 80 General Assembly of the VMDK: *Hungarian Autonomy. The Position of the DCHV on Autonomy* (Budapest, 1992).
- 81 Árpád Hajnal, "Elnökverés Nemesmiliticsen" [Beating Up a President in Svetozar Miletić], *Magyar Szó*, October 26, 1993, p. 8; "Rálóttek a VMDK vezetőjének a házára" [VMDK Leader Shot at in His House], *Ibid.*, May 31, 1992; "Bombát dobtak az udvarba" [Bomb Thrown into Yard], *Tiszavidék*, February 21, 1992; Béla Csorba, "Nem tettem eleget a behívóparancsnak" [I Ignored My Call-Up Order], *Magyar Szó*, January 12, 1992.
- 82 General Assembly of the VMDK: *Kezdeményezés a Szerb Köztársaságban élő magyarság önkormányzatának létrehozására* [Proposal to Establish Autonomy for Hungarians in the Republic of Serbia], *VMDK Hírmondó*, special issue, February 17, 1996, pp. 2–9. Reprinted in Bárdi and Éger, eds., *Útkeresés és integráció*, pp. 417–426.
- 83 Péter Sinkovits, "Horn békés megoldást sürget" [Horn Calls for a Peaceful Solution], *Magyar Szó*, October 20, 1995, pp. 1 and 3.
- 84 For the documents, see András Ágoston and János Vékás, eds., *A botrány* [The Scandal] (Újvidék, 1994).
- 85 *Vajdasági Magyar Szövetség (VMSZ)*.
- 86 *Vajdasági Magyar Demokrata Párt (VMDP)*.
- 87 According to the 2002 census, 5 percent of Serbia's population were refugees, but the proportion was three times as high in Vojvodina (9.2 percent) as in Central Serbia. Petar Lađević and Vladimir Stanković, eds., *Izbeglički korpus u Srbiji. Prema podacima popisa stanovništva 2002* [The Refugee Body in Serbia. According to the Data of the 2002 Census] (Belgrade, 2004), p. 39. In 1996 the number approached

600,000, but about 110,000 had obtained Serbian citizenship by 2006. Danijela Korać Mandić *et al.*, *Integracija kao dugoročno rešenje za izbeglice i raseljena lica u Srbiji - analitički izveštaj. Srpski savet za izbeglice* [Integration as a Long-Term Solution for the Refugees and IDPs in Serbia – An Analytical Report. Serbian Refugee Council] (Novi Sad, July–October 2006). Those people who were relocated from Kosovo to the territory of Central Serbia and Vojvodina are called *interno raseljena lica* [internal IDPs].

- 88 At Hrtkovci in Srem, for example, one person was murdered on June 28, 1992, others badly injured, and several repeatedly harassed. The tensions prompted 253 Croatian and Hungarian families to move away, raising the proportion of Serbs from 20 to 80 percent within weeks. Perica Vučinić, “Mir i nemir Julijane Molnar” [The Peace and Discomfort of Juliana Molnar], *Borba*, July 2, 1992, p. 14.
- 89 The proliferating anti-Hungarian incidents in Vojvodina in the 2000s occurred mainly in areas frequented by refugees. *Projekat Afirmacija multikulturalizma i tolerancije u Vojvodini 2006–2007* [Project of Affirmation of Multiculturalism and Tolerance in Vojvodina 2006–2007] (Novi Sad, 2006), p. 4.
- 90 *Srpska radikalna stranka, SRS; Socijalistička partija Srbije, SPS.*
- 91 Zakon o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina. *Službeni list SRJ* br. 11, February 27, 2002.
- 92 The specific ministry order on the electoral college to elect the National Minorities Council: Pravilnik o načinu rada skupština elektora za izbor saveta nacionalnih manjina. *Službeni list SRJ* br. 41, July 26, 2002.
- 93 “Osnivačka prava nad listovima manjina preneti nacionalnim savetima,” *Dnevnik*, June 30, 2004.
- 94 Socioeconomic attributes of the population and the minorities: *Etnički mozaik Srbije. Prema podacima popisa stanovništva 2002* [Ethnic Mosaic of Serbia. According to the Data of the 2002 Census] (Belgrade, 2004).
- 95 The initiative came from outside the party system and was opposed initially by both main parties. It failed to attract the necessary support despite a volte-face by Fidesz, Hungary’s main opposition party, and neutrality from the governing Socialist Party, as it faced voter concerns about economic results, political manipulation of the issue, and doubts about the legality under EU law of discriminating between ethnic Hungarian and other citizens of neighboring countries.

- 96 On the break-up of Czechoslovakia and Hungarian attitudes to it, see Judit Hamberger, *Csehszlovákia szétválása. Egy föderációs kísérlet kudarca* [Czechoslovakia's Dissolution. End of a Federative Experiment] (Budapest, 1997).
- 97 *Független Magyar Kezdeményezés (FMK); Magyar Kereszténydemokrata Mozgalom (MKDM); Együttélés Politikai Mozgalom.*
- 98 *Magyar Polgári Párt.* Eleonóra Sándor, "A rendszerváltás magyar szemmel" [Change of System through Hungarian Eyes], in József Fazekas and Péter Hunčík, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában. I. Összefoglaló jelentés (1989–2004)* [Hungarians in Slovakia. I. Summary Report (1989–2004)] (Somorja/Dunaszerdahely, 2004), pp. 23–50. Separate interviews with the main participants in the change of system: "Elbeszélt történelem. A rendszerváltás évei" [Narrated History. Years of System Change], in the 1999–2000 issues of *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle*. Analysis of beginnings and party programs: Iván Gyurcsík, "A szlovákiai magyar pártok karaktere és genezise" [Character and Origin of the Slovakian Hungarian Parties], *Regio* 7 (1996) 3: 169–191; László Öllös, "A magyar pártok programjai" [Programs of the Hungarian Parties], in Fazekas and Hunčík, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában. I*, pp. 51–78. Activity of Hungarian parties: László Szarka, "Kisebbségi többpártrendszer és a közösségépítés" [Minority Multiparty System and Community Building], in Fazekas and Hunčík, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában. I*, pp. 79–99; election results: *ibid.*, pp. 100–103.
- 99 *Magyar Koalíció Pártja, MKP.*
- 100 The Komárno rally on January 8, 1994, was the most important Hungarian event of the decade. Over 3,000 out of 5,000 invited Hungarian local assembly members and mayors appeared. In their statement they called Slovakia's Hungarians a nation of equal rank with the Slovak nation and called for special legal status, political institutionalization, a self-elected representative body for the Hungarian-inhabited area, minority local government organizations, and local government units with a Hungarian majority. *Önkormányzat az önrendelkezés alapja. A szlovákiai magyar választott képviselők és polgármesterek nagygyűlésének hiteles jegyzőkönyve* [Self-Government on a Self-Determining Basis. Minutes of the Rally of Slovakia's Elected Hungarian Representatives and Mayors] (Komárom, 1995).

- 101 Árpád Sidó, János Fiala and Balázs Jarábik, “A szlovák–magyar alapszerződés hatásvizsgálata” [The Effectiveness of the Slovak–Hungarian Basic Treaty], *Regio* 14 (2003) 1: 111–119, and at <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00036/00049/pdf/07.pdf>. Accessed April 24, 2010.
- 102 This 56-nation *ad hoc* UN organization has its roots in the Conference on European Security and Cooperation that led to the East–West Helsinki Final Act in 1975. The OSCE seeks to resolve ethnic tensions as an element of the third (human) dimension of security. See <http://www.osce.org/activities/18805.html>. Accessed April 26, 2010.
- 103 Zsigmond Zalabai, *A nyelvi jogokról: Mit ér a nyelvünk, ha magyar? „Táblaháború” és a „névháború” szlovákiai magyar sajtódokumentumaiból 1990–1994* [Language Rights: How Much Is Hungarian Worth? “Sign Wars” and “Language War” in Slovakian Hungarian Press Documents, 1990–1994] (Pozsony, 1995); József Berényi, *Nyelvországolás. A szlovákiai nyelvtörvény történelmi és társadalmi okai* [Language and Country. Historical and Social Reasons behind Slovakia’s Language Law] (Pozsony, 1994); Gizella Szabó Mihály, “A szlovákiai magyarság nyelvi helyzete” [The Language Situation of Slovakia’s Hungarians], in Károly Tóth and Gábor Csanda, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában, III. (1989–2006) Kultúra* [Hungarians in Slovakia III (1989–2006). Culture] (Somorja, 2007), pp. 261–278.
- 104 László Szarka, “Közigazgatási reform és kisebbségi kérdés” [Administrative Reform and the Minority Question], *Kisebbség-kutatás* (2001) 1: 8–28.
- 105 See Section 4.4.
- 106 The communist governments of Czechoslovakia and Hungary concluded a treaty in Budapest on September 18, 1977, on construction of two barrages with hydroelectric power plants and other installations, along their common length of the Danube. The two countries were to share the power generated equally. The scheme involved diverting most of the flow of the Danube along a 16-kilometer navigable headwater canal from Dunakiliti to what would have been a peak-hour hydroelectric plant at Gabčíkovo combined with a shipping lock. The uneven flow of the peak-hour plant was to have been compensated by a tailwater reservoir and a barrage and hydroelectric plant at Nagymaros, 95 kilometers downstream. The scheme was to have side-benefits for shipping safety and flood protection. Hungary withdrew unilaterally from

the treaty in May 1992 on economic, environmental and aesthetic grounds, but Slovakia pressed ahead with a modified scheme and claimed high damages under international law. The modified scheme came into operation in 1996. In a 1998 judgment (<http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?pr=269&p1=3&p2=1&case=92&p3=6>. Accessed April 26, 2010), the Hague court concluded that the Treaty of Budapest was still valid but had been breached by both parties, who were to settle the outstanding issues by negotiation. This they still seem unlikely to do.

- 107 On the coalition agreement: József Reiter, “A szlovákiai Magyar Koalíció Pártja kormányzati tevékenységének első négy hónapja” [The First Four Months of Government Activity by Slovakia’s Hungarian Coalition Party], *Magyar Kisebbség* (1999) 1: 182–193. On its implementation: József Reiter and Szilvia Reiter, “A szlovákiai Magyar Koalíció Pártja kormányzati tevékenységének első éve” [The First Year of Government Activity by Slovakia’s Hungarian Coalition Party], *Magyar Kisebbség* (1999) 4: 190–202.
- 108 Judit Hamberger, “A Magyar Koalíció Pártja a szlovák kormányban” [The Hungarian Coalition Party in the Slovak Government], in Fazekas and Hunčík, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában. I.*, pp. 105–124; Ferenc Boros, “A Dzurinda-kormány nemzetiségi politikájáról” [National Minority Policy of the Dzurinda Government], *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle* (2002) 1: 125–144.
- 109 Many Roma in Slovakia are native Hungarian-speakers.
- 110 On educational questions: Erzsébet Dolník, “Iskolarendszerek, törvényalkotás, az iskolaügy területén” [School Systems and Legislation in Educational Affairs], in Béla László, László A. Szabó and Károly Tóth, eds., *Magyarok Szlovákiában. IV. köt. Oktatásügy (1989–2006)* [Hungarians in Slovakia IV. Education (1989–2006)] (Šamorin, 2007), pp. 36–45; Béla László, “Szlovákiai magyar felsőoktatás” [Slovakian Hungarian Higher Education], in *ibid.*, pp. 117–149; Béla László, Nóra Varga and Zoltán Sidó, “A szlovákiai magyar pedagógusképzés és felsőoktatási intézmények” [The Hungarian Teachers’ Training and Institutions of Higher Education in Slovakia], in *ibid.*, pp. 157–190.
- 111 Hans (János) Selye (1907–1982) was a Vienna-born Canadian endocrinologist of Hungarian origin who investigated and coined the terms “biological stress,” negative “distress,” and positive “eustress.” He lived in Komárno in his childhood.

- 112 *Duna Menti Múzeum.*
- 113 *Magyar Kultúra Történeti Múzeuma.*
- 114 On Fico government policy on minority status and the Hungarians: Judit Hamberger, *A feszült szlovák–magyar viszony okairól* [Causes of Slovak–Hungarian Tension], at http://www.kulugyiintezet.hu/szempont/Hamberger_Judit-szlovak-magyar.pdf. Accessed May 28, 2010.
- 115 *Smer – sociálna demokracia; Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko; Slovenská národná strana.*
- 116 Edvard Kardelj, Tito's chief ideologist, wrote even in 1939: "There was no way that the path to this community could lead via artificial weakening of each nation's individuality or forcible mergers of them, as many of us in the so-called integral Yugoslav camp imagined. On the contrary, it led via reinforcement of the individuality of each nation and its culture, which is the irreplaceable source of general human culture." Edvard Kardelj, *A szlovén nemzeti kérdés fejlődése* [Development of the Slovene National Question] (Novi Sad, 1961).
- 117 Sovereignty declaration: "Deklaracija o suverenosti države Republike Slovenije" [Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia], *Uradni list RS* (1990) 26. Referendum: "Zakon o plebiscitu o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije" [Act on the Plebiscite on the Independence of the Republic of Slovenia], *Uradni list RS* (1990) 44.
- 118 Constitutional amendment: "Ustavni amandma XCIX k Ustavi Republike Slovenije" [XCIXth Constitutional Amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia], *Uradni list RS* (1991) 7; declaration of independence: "Temeljna ustavna listina o samostojnosti in neodvisnosti Republike Slovenije" [Basic Constitutional Charter on the Independence of the Republic of Slovenia], *Uradni list RS* (1991) 1.
- 119 "Ustava Republike Slovenije" [The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia], *Uradni list RS* (1991) 33.
- 120 "Zakon o romski skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji" [The Law on the Roma Community in the Republic of Slovenia], *Uradni list RS* (2007) 33.
- 121 "Zakon o državljanstvu Republike Slovenije" [Law on Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia], *Uradni list RS* (1991) 1.
- 122 "Odločba Ustavnega sodišča. št. U–I–246/02–28" [Decision of the Constitutional Court. No. U–I–246/02–28], *Uradni list RS* (2003) 36.

- 123 *Popisi na Slovenskem 1948–1991 in Popis 2002* [Censuses in Slovenia 1948–1991 and the 2002 Census] (Ljubljana, 2001), p. 19; in more detail: Milivoja Šircelj, *Verska, jezikovna in narodna sestava prebivalstva Slovenije: popisi 1921–2002* [Religious, Linguistic and Ethnic Composition of the Population of Slovenia: Censuses 1921–2002] (Ljubljana, 2003), p. 163.
- 124 “Javni razpis za dodelitev sredstev za ustvarjanje gospodarske osnove za avtohtoni narodni skupnosti za leto 2007” [Tender of 2007 for the Allocation of Resources to Generate an Economic Base for Indigenous Ethnic Communities], *Uradni list RS* (2007) 100.
- 125 “Zakon o posebnih pravicah italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti na področju vzgoje in izobraževanja” [Law on Special Rights of the Italian and Hungarian National Communities in the Field of Education], *Uradni list RS* (2001) 35.
- 126 “Zakon o volitvah v državni zbor” [National Assembly Elections Act], *Uradni list RS* (1992) 44.
- 127 “Zakon o samoupravnih narodnih skupnostih” [Law on Self-Governing Ethnic Minorities], *Uradni list RS* (1994) 65. *Községi Nemzeti Tanács; Muravidéki Magyar Nemzeti Tanács; Muravidéki Magyar Nemzeti Öngazgatási Közösség; Muravidéki Magyar Önkormányzati Nemzeti Közösség.*
- 128 *Magyar Nemzeti Tájékoztatási Intézet; Magyar Nemzetiségi Művelődési Intézet; Szlovéniai Magyar Írók Társasága; Muravidéki Magyar Tudományos Társaság.*
- 129 *Slovenski šolski sistem v številkah* [The Slovenian Education System in Numbers] (Ljubljana, 2007), p. 52.
- 130 “Zakon o ratifikaciji sporazuma o zagotavljanju posebnih pravic slovenske narodne manjšine v Republiki Madžarski in madžarske narodne skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji” [Act on Ratification of the Agreement on Providing Special Rights of the Slovenian Minority in the Republic of Hungary and Hungarian Communities in Slovenia], *Uradni list RS-MP* (1993) 6; “1996. évi VI. törvény a Magyar Köztársaságban élő szlovén nemzeti kisebbség és a Szlovén Köztársaságban élő magyar nemzeti közösség különjogainak biztosításáról szóló, Ljubljánában, 1992. november 6-án aláírt Egyezmény kihirdetéséről” [Act VI/1996 on the Agreement Signed in Ljubljana on November 6, 1992, on the Special Rights of the Slovene National Minority Dwelling in the Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian National Minority Dwelling in the Republic of Slovenia], *Magyar Közlöny* (1996) 17.

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